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## THE IDEOLOGICAL FUNCTION OF THE THESIS ABOUT THE CLASH OF CIVILIZATIONS

*Abstract:* This paper calls into question the fruitfulness as well as the ability of Huntington's thesis about the clash of civilizations to offer an adequate conceptual, theoretical and methodological framework for explaining the armed conflicts at the end of the XX and the beginning of the XXI century, using the analysis of the war in Kosovo and Metohija as an example. On the basis of evidence of cooperation between members of different "civilizations," of conflict between members of the same "civilization," as well as on the basis of declarations by the transnational actors themselves about the real causes of the war in Kosovo and Metohija, this paper shows that Huntington's thesis about the clash of civilizations has a twofold ideological function. The first is to divert attention from fundamental geostrategic and political economic interests of transnational financial and corporate capital, militarily organized into NATO and under the leadership of the US, and the second is to turn the victims of recolonization against each other, in accordance with the age-old imperial rule – *divide et impera*.

*Key words:* conflict of civilizations, transnational capital, recolonization, NATO, Kosovo and Metohija, US, EU.

## THE HISTORICAL CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE APPEARANCE AND THE CONTENTS OF THE THESIS ABOUT THE CLASH OF CIVILIZATIONS

Samuel Huntington renewed the old thesis about the clash of civilizations under the circumstances of the disintegration of the USSR, the COMECON and the Warsaw Pact on the one side, and the integration of Germany, Western Europe and the expansion of NATO on the other. Instead of being disbanded on the fiftieth anniversary of its formation, as was

the case with the opposing Warsaw Pact, NATO was expanded through the cooptation of some of the former socialist countries and transformed into the “iron fist” of transnational capital under the hegemonic leadership of US-based companies. In the changed circumstances of the disappearance of a bipolar world, Huntington offered his clash of civilizations thesis as a new explanation for the intensification of armed conflict in the “post-Cold War world,” which was in contrast with the announcements of a new order of peace and prosperity made by US President George Bush Sr. during the Gulf War against Iraq. According to this thesis, the main factor “responsible” for starting wars following the crucial historical event symbolized by the fall of the Berlin Wall was no longer the political and economical division of states into democratic and undemocratic ones, or into rich and poor ones, or any other earthly interest. According to Huntington, it was the motivational and mobilizational contents of the collective identities – mutually opposed and inspired by the world religions – that had become the chief protagonists of armed conflict, determining the relationships of human beings toward the sacral and the degree of significance accorded to rights and obligations, freedom and authority, equality and hierarchy. Huntington claims that these civilizational differences can explain developments in international relations from the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century forward, including the disintegration of Yugoslavia by way of war between the Serbs, the Croats and the Muslims (Huntington, Samuel, P. 1993a; 1993b).

#### THE NEGLECTED PROCESS OF RELIGIOUS CONVERSION AND ITS SOCIAL CONTENTS ON THE TERRITORY OF THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA UNDER THE OCCUPATION OF THE “OLD” COLONIZATIONAL POWERS

Comparative research of the replies given by those surveyed about their confessional and national affiliation on the territory of the former Yugoslavia confirm that religion has been and continues to be the determining element of national identity in this part of the world. Regardless of whether they declared themselves as believers or atheists in the pan-Yugoslavian poll conducted by the Consortium of Social Science Institutes of Yugoslavia in 1989, an absolute majority of subjects of both genders declaring themselves as members of the Slovenian and the Croatian nation also declared themselves as members of the Catholic religion, just as an absolute majority of those declaring themselves to be of Serbian, Montenegrin and Macedonian nationality declared themselves as members of the Orthodox religion, while the absolute majority of those declaring themselves as members of the

Muslim and Macedonian nation declared themselves as members of the Islamic religion (Vratuša, V. 1999). However, it should immediately be added that the elements of the religious and ethnic conflict during the violent break-up of Yugoslavia cannot be understood if one neglects the historical fact of the conversion of members of the same ethnicity in this region, under the colonizational occupation pressure of the Ottoman Empire in the southeast and the Austrian Empire in the northwest. The drive to preserve landholding privileges and gain administrative functions, but also to save one's own life through conversion, led to the separation of parents from children, of siblings from siblings, of neighbors from neighbors. Along with the religion of the conquerors, the religious converts took on the responsibility of defending the conquerors' empires from external attack, as well as from rebellion by their dispossessed and disenfranchised former compatriots who did not convert and who had withdrawn from the cities. They acted in accord with the folk sayings: "a bigger Muslim than the Caliph," and "a bigger Catholic than the Pope."

On the territory of Kosovo and Metohija, in parts of Montenegro, Herzegovina and Raška, an intensified Islamization of the Serbs took place following the defeats of anti-Turkish uprisings and the great exoduses of tens of thousands of Serbian families, first under the leadership of Patriarch Arsenije Čarnojević in 1690, and then under the leadership of Arsenije IV Jovanović-Šakabenta in 1737. The process of Islamization stopped completely only after final liberation from Turkish rule in 1912 (Terzić, 1994). With the approval of the Turkish authorities, the majority-Islamized Albanian population began to massively cross the mountain passes and to settle Old Serbia from the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Descending into the fertile plain in which the Serbs, according to Turkish, Austrian and Vatican sources, were an absolute majority until the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Albanian Muslims filled the ranks of the Turkish army, while the tribal chieftains became agas and beys, local landholders and exponents of Turkish authority. As control from the center of the empire weakened, while rejecting all the European-style reforms that were taking place, they intensified their terror over the Serbian population that had not converted, which led to a definite disruption of the ethnic balance at the expense of the Serbian and the non-Albanian population in the period between 1878 and 1912. From their defeat in the Balkan Wars and the unification of Metohija with Montenegro and Kosovo with Serbia by the London Peace Agreement of 1912, the former agas and beys never reconciled themselves to the loss of their feudal holdings, which they claimed as their "centuries-old territories" allegedly occupied by the Serbian aggressor. They sought to reclaim these by first purchasing Serbian and

other non-Albanian holdings in ethnically and religiously compact settlements, and then, having thus “cut into them,” provoked incidents in order to “justify” their grab of non-Albanian properties through naked force.

As Dimitrije Bogdanović points out, on the basis of thorough documentation, “there was never a pause in the planned activity of Albanian nationalism, reflected in a permanent, practically chronic pressure on the Serbs to emigrate from the region, in the stimulation of demographic pressure and the explosion of the Albanian population, and in its extraordinary and unnatural intensification by way of a huge, still uncounted influx of the Albanian element, under the guise of political emigration from Albania.” The ruling slogan has been and remains – emigration: “What are you waiting for, why don’t you leave, do we have to throw you out ourselves!” Murders, rapes, beatings, arson, kidnappings, threats, blackmail, psychological and moral abuse, usurpation, land grabbing, destruction of crops, cattle and forests, social and legal discrimination, majorization, attacks on churches, desecration of cemeteries, monuments and symbols of national identity – all this resulted in a psychosis of total legal, personal and proprietorial insecurity among the Serbs which, after 1968, led to the final abandonment of many Serbian villages or remaining Serb houses in Albanized settlements throughout Kosovo and Metohija. The process of Serbian and Montenegrin emigration continued even from municipalities in “Serbia proper” with an Albanian majority (Preševo, Bujanovac, Medvedja). The fact that, according to the 1971 census, the percentage of emigrants relative to the total population of the province was 9 times greater among the Serbs and 13 times greater among the Montenegrins than among the Albanians “eloquently reduces the argument about an (economically motivated) ‘equal rate of Albanian emigration from Kosovo’ to its true measure.” The greatest decline in the ethnic representation of the Serbs in Kosovo and Metohija was recorded between 1961 (still as high as 27.4%) and 1981 (14.9%). In order to achieve the Prizren League’s racist program of a Greater Albania cleansed of non-Albanian elements, in their role of informal tribal authorities, the descendants of the Islamized agas and beys sided with the foreign powers in the Balkans in all wars, placing themselves in the service of their penetration and domination. In return, they could continue their genocide with impunity. In order to hide their crimes they continue to use the thesis about the danger of “Greater Serbian hegemonism,” formulated by the Austro-Marxists as well the Cominternists in the course of the badly organized and led “reverse colonization” of the Serbs during the 1920s and 1930s. Serbian politics have been marked by a fatal absence of “clear visions about a lasting and just solution to the Albanian question” (Bogdanović, Dimitrije, 1986/2000).

## FLAWED STARTING PREMISE ABOUT THE INTERNAL HOMOGENEITY OF CIVILIZATIONS

Huntington's thesis that the explanation for the wars at the end of the twentieth century should be sought in conflicting religiously-inspired world views and ways of life starts from the premise that the "civilizations" defined by the dominant world religions are internally homogenous. As a result, Huntington's thesis is incapable of explaining either the social antagonisms that escalate into armed conflict within the same "civilization" or the pre-war, wartime and post-war alliances between large social groups from different "civilizations." (Vratuša, Vera, 1995.)

Kosovo and Metohija offer examples of both kinds of exceptions to the thesis about the allegedly inevitable clash of "civilizations."

### *Conflicts between members of the same "civilization"*

In the course of 1998, the media controlled by the transnational corporate and financial capital of the US and the EU, militarily organized into NATO, launched the "news" that the Serbian authorities were allegedly organizing the killing of thousands of "Kosovars," as well as genocide in Kosovo and Metohija. In reality, among the approximately 2,000 victims of all religions and ethnicities, the greatest number were Shiptars (Kosovo Albanians) killed by their own compatriots organized into the terrorist Kosovo Liberation Army organization (Alexander, Andrew, 1999). A part of the Shiptars did not wish to join the KLA in their armed attacks on the representatives of the authorities of the Republic of Serbia and on their Serbian neighbors. Despite the threats by Azem Shalja, the former chief-of-staff of the Kosovo Liberation Army, published in the *Epoka e Re* newspaper, that supposedly "false witnesses and spies" would get "what they deserved even if they fled to the moon" (*Glas juga*, no. 30), some Shiptars risked their lives in order to testify about the KLA's crimes against both the Serbs and their own compatriots and relatives, at the "anomalous" Tribunal at The Hague, established in order to legitimize the violation of international law by NATO's sponsors and their local collaborators (Laughland, John: 1999).

Judging by the statements of Serbs daily subjected to pogroms since the arrival of NATO troops covered by the fig leaf of the UN to Kosovo and Metohija in June 1999, there are still Shiptars to whom humanity toward members of the endangered "civilization" is more important than submission or loyalty to criminal members of their own "civilization." For example,

Aleksandar Vesić from Lipljan, whose entire property was torched, testified about a Shiptar neighbor who saved some children, but did not reveal his name to avoid causing him problems, having in mind the cases of young women who were kidnapped for having tried to protect their Serb neighbors during the pogroms (*Glas juga*, 38). For the same reason, there is no mention of the names of two prominent Shiptars who risked a “bullet to the head” while trying to convince Avdulj Shalja, head of the local KLA “staff” to free Vučić Vuković, who was well-liked among the Shiptars from Dubovik. The appeals did not help, as Shalja received orders from the commander of the Dukadjin operational zone, Ramush Haradinaj, to transport Vuković, one other Montenegrin, and a Muslim to Haradinaj’s uncle, Ljahi Ibrahimaj, and execute them there (*Glas juga*, no.42).

Contrary to the above-mentioned examples of humane Shiptar conduct toward Serbs, prisoners of the modern version of the Inquisition (Čavoški, Kosta, s.a.), as part of a plea-bargain with the prosecution, have “admitted” that the members of their own “civilization” had a “plan about a forced ethnic separation of the population” (Stefanović, Nenad, 2002) and had executed a “joint criminal enterprise” (Mensur, Č, 2004), while remaining silent about the fact that the members of their own “civilization” have been and continue to be the most numerous victims of forced ethnic cleansing (Đurić, Mihajlo, 1999; Apis Group, 2005). The most far-reaching consequences were caused and continue to be caused by the example of the Serbian politicians who first signed guarantees that they would not extradite the former president of the country falsely accused of genocide to the illegal Tribunal in The Hague and then, contrary to the constitution, did precisely that on St. Vitus Day, throwing to the winds all legality, justice and morality regarding members of their own “civilization” (Mijatović, Zoran, 2006).

#### FORMATION AND DISSOLUTION OF ALLIANCES BETWEEN MEMBERS OF THE COLONIZATIONAL AND THE COLONIZED “CIVILIZATION”

Supposedly unbridgeable civilizational differences did not in the least prevent the intelligence services of former and present-day Christian colonizational and re-colonizational powers militarily organized into NATO from either helping to organize or continuing to finance, arm and in every other way support the most extreme Islamist groups such as al-Qaeda (Awoken, 2004), along with, for now, less religiously profiled criminal and terrorist groups such as the KLA in Serbia (Hedges, Michael, 1999; Pascali,

Umberto: 2001; Savich, Carl: 2004). The governments of both the old and the new imperialist powers support separatist and terrorist groups regardless of which “civilization” they belong to, wherever they are weakening local central governments trying to carry out an autochthonous strategy of social development in the interest of the majority of the local population and offering resistance to colonization and recolonization.

During the time of the genocidal sanctions, the bombing of Iraq and the worsening conditions of the Israeli occupation of Palestine, support for Islamic separatists and terrorists on the soil of the former Yugoslavia had the additional purpose of convincing “moderate,” secularized Muslims the world over that the US Administration aids Muslims whenever they are “threatened” by Orthodox Christians or members of any other non-Muslim confessions (except the Jewish one). Confirmation of the continued relevance of this additional goal was given by an influential proponent of Kosovo and Metohija’s independence, American senator and member of the Council on Foreign Relations, Joseph Biden: “Pristina is one of the few Muslim cities in the world where the United States is not only respected but revered... If we get Kosovo right, Muslims around the world will be reminded how the United States came to the aid of Kosovo’s Muslim population and helped them build a strong, independent, multi-ethnic democracy” (*Kosovareport*, 2005).

Experience from the history of colonization and recolonization, in which the dissolution of alliance with the Afghanistan Taliban and Osama bin Laden merely represents a more recent example, says that such asymmetric alliances end at the moment when local separatists attempt to achieve some interests of their own, independently of the interests of the recolonizational powers themselves (Dixon, Norm, 2001).

The subordinate role of useful tool, which NATO has delegated to the KLA as its infantry for securing territory under the control of transnational capital, is fully revealed in a text in which the so-called International Crisis Group clearly states that it is “out of the question” for the Trepča mines to be given over to the “Kosovars.” This “brain trust,” mostly made up of former high state officials from NATO countries, and financed by Americanized global financial speculator of Hungarian origin, Soros, recommended, and UNMIK and KFOR executed, a “rapid and categorical” takeover of the entire metallurgical complex before the elections in Serbia. The intention was to allow the leaders of the so-called democratic opposition to use the election campaign argument that the sole reason for yet another loss of Serbian resources lay in the fact that Milošević was still in power (International Crisis Group, 1999).

The ideological representatives of the colonizers' "civilization" do not try to make it easier for their clients in the recolonized "civilizations" to justify their collaboration in the overthrow of insufficiently cooperative local authorities. Thus, for example, Tim Marshall, editor of the British satellite television network Sky News, described in detail the role of foreign intelligence services in preparing, organizing and financing the "coup d'état," as he called it, of October 5, 2000 in Serbia (Marshall, Tim, 2002).

A direct actor of the recolonization of Kosovo and Metohija, former US Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott, in his introduction to a recent book devoted to the NATO intervention in Kosovo and Metohija, written by his former communications director and current special adviser to the president of the International Crisis Group, John Norris, has made it even more openly difficult for the former opposition and the current government to continue ceaselessly blaming only Slobodan Milošević for the aggression and pillage to which Serbia has been subjected even after the death of the former president of Serbia and FR Yugoslavia. Namely, Talbott completely accepts Norris' claim that it was the resistance of "Milošević's Yugoslavia" to the "broader trends of political and economic reform – not the plight of the Kosovo Albanians – that best explains NATO's war" (Talbott, Strobe, 2005: XXII–XXIII).

That extending the sphere of the "free market" under the hegemony of the US was the fundamental goal of the bombing of Yugoslavia is confirmed by an article of the draft "agreement," i.e., the ultimatum from Rambouillet that preceded the bombing, in which the Clinton Administration prescribes that "the economy of Kosovo shall function in accordance with free market principles" (*Interim Agreement for Peace and Self-Government in Kosovo*, 1999: Article I, Chapter 4a). In other words, the so-called "free market economy" is spread through military aggression, just like during classical colonial times, whenever "peaceful" means of "exchange" prove insufficient.

#### RELATIONS BETWEEN THE MEMBERS OF THE "CIVILIZATION" OF THE OLD AND THE NEW COLONIZERS

Talbott's former boss, former US president Clinton, offered a similar interpretation of the true political-economic motives of NATO's war in Kosovo and Metohija, with an accent on the role of the European "partners," in his national address of March 23, 1999, on the eve of issuing orders for the beginning of the bombing of Serbia, an operation euphemistically named "Merciful Angel": "And if we're going to have a strong economic relationship



that includes our ability to sell around the world, Europe has got to be a key. And if we want people to share our burdens of leadership with all the problems that will inevitably crop up, Europe needs to be our partner. Now that's what this Kosovo thing is all about..." (cited in Henwood, Doug, 1999 and Schwartz, Benjamin, Lane Christopher: 1999). The NATO bombing, according to the interpretation of the authority with the highest command responsibility, was a means of expanding the zone of "free trade," secured first for the US and then for European exporters and investors.

Zbigniew Brzezinski, former National Security Adviser to President Carter and the key strategist for the extension of the domination of US interests into the 21<sup>st</sup> century, announced NATO's new role two years before Clinton: "An expanded Europe and an enlarged NATO will serve the short-term and longer term interests of US policy. A larger Europe will expand the range of American influence without simultaneously creating a Europe so politically integrated that it could challenge the United States on matters of geopolitical importance, particularly in the Middle East" (Brzezinski, Zbigniew, 1997).

It was as though Brzezinski had merely actualized the well-known definition of NATO's functions lapidarily formulated by Lord Ismay, the first Secretary General of NATO: "To keep the Americans in (Europe), the Russians out (of Europe), and the Germans [the dominant country of the EU – added by V.V.] down" (Cragg, Hines, 1997).

From the standpoint of US strategists, the ideal way of preventing Germany from achieving domination on the markets of the former socialist countries, and Europe from completely uniting through the inclusion of Russia, lies precisely in the incitement of armed conflicts and the creation of client Muslim states in the European Union's sphere of interests. Some of the intellectual representatives of European capital have seen through this US strategy, realizing that the wars in Bosnia, Kosovo and Chechnya were wars against Europe (Del Valle, Alexandre, 2000).

Thus, Western Europe has been allotted the role of junior partner in the recolonization of the world, and it must never grow strong enough to become a rival and competitor of the US, with its own armed forces. The former socialist countries of Eastern Europe have been relegated to the role of subordinate client who secures the manpower for the expansion of the "free market." Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary became new NATO members only a couple of weeks before the bombing of Yugoslavia began. Hungary immediately received an important logistical role in the entire operation of permanently basing NATO troops on the territory of Serbia and Montenegro (Cohen, Mitchel, s.a.).

### THE IDEOLOGICAL FUNCTION OF THE THESIS ABOUT THE CLASH OF CIVILIZATIONS

With its focus on the outwardly most visible religiously and ethnically-colored articulations of war aims, the thesis about the clash of civilizations is unable to explain the deeper layers of the determinism of armed conflicts for the control of material and human resources. In fact, the clash of civilizations thesis has the ideological function of concealing these true social interests and, in accordance with the old imperial adage of “divide and conquer,” of securing local collaborators in order to reduce the costs of the recolonization process. The recolonization of the planet has become necessary for securing the direct access of transnational capital to the material and human resources of both the former colonies and the former socialist countries, under the circumstances of an increasingly acute crisis of accumulation of production capital and of financial speculation in paper derivatives on a global scale.

Kosovo and Metohija caught the eye of NATO’s members with its geographical location, favorable for the establishment of military bases from which to control the “transit” of Caspian oil, the profitable trades in arms, drugs and white slavery, as well as the exploitation of its somewhat meager but strategically significant deposits of gold, silver, cadmium, bismuth and magnesite (Vasić, Nenad, s.a.). Although in disagreement about the route of the future oil pipeline, whether by Corridor 10, through Bulgaria and Macedonia to Albania – as sought by the US, or through Rumania and up the Danube toward Central and Western Europe – as sought by Germany (CIA, 2006), they found common language in their support of Shiptar separatists in their battle to secede from Serbia and the division of Kosovo into occupational zones under the euphemistic name “Operation Joint Guardian” (2006).

### THE RESULTS OF INTERCIVILIZATIONAL ALLIANCE WITH THE POWERS OF RECOLONIZATION

The Shiptar population would soon learn from its own experience that the NATO allies were also killing their own compatriots during the bombing, while at the same time catastrophically polluting their environment with radioactive and toxic substances. Based on sparse and, due to conflicting social interests, incomplete reports, the bombing with banned radioactive weapons has caused an exponential rise in the incidence of cancer and other diseases among populations of all religious and ethnic affiliations. The first signs of radiation appeared on children, in the form of oral herpes and itchy

skin on the back and joints. In northern Kosovo, where, according to NATO's claims, the fewest projectiles were dropped, the rate of leukemia has grown by 200% since the bombing. However, what most disturbed the NATO member countries were the illnesses and deaths among their own soldiers who served in Kosovo and Metohija (Vratuša, Vera, 2001).

The results of the KFOR and UNMIK administration in Kosovo and Metohija can be best observed by comparing the indicators of human development before and after June 1999. According to data published by *The Human Development Report for the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia* in 1997, the percentage of the poor in the overall population of Serbia in 1995, after four years of lethal economic sanctions and two years after the hyperinflation, equaled 22.9% in rural areas and 32.8% in urban areas (HDRV: 1997: 30).

According to the data of *The Human Development Report for Kosovo* published in 2002, more than one half of Kosovo and Metohija's population lived in poverty, of which 12% in extreme poverty, while the estimated unemployment rate equaled between 50% and 55% (HDRK, 2002: 5, 69). The declining quality of life after bombardment by projectiles "enriched" with depleted uranium is also testified by the fact that the percentage of infants weighing less than 2.5 kg at birth increased from 2.1% in 1989 to 6.1% in 2001 (p. 90), the mortality rate increased from 5.2 per 1000 in 1991 to 5.8 per 1000 in 2000 (p. 89), while the birth rate drastically fell, from 28.5 per 1000 in 1991 to 18.9 per 1000 in 2000.

The local members of the ruling class can easily manipulate the unemployed, impoverished, atomized, disorganized and enfeebled population by redirecting the latter's dissatisfaction from themselves and the powers of recolonization toward the members of other ethnic and religious groups, which they begin to view as competition for rare employment openings in times of crisis. Continuously subjected to hate propaganda aimed at members of other religions and nations, they do not realize that the privatizational pillaging of the economy's social and public sector, carried out by transnational corporate and financial capital in alliance with local comprador elements, eliminates their labor unions and reduces their wages, while increasing their unemployment, but also the profits of an ever-lower percentage of the world's population.

In total contrast to the self-satisfied boasting of American officials about how they have contributed to the introduction of democracy to Kosovo and Metohija, a portion of the US media has mustered the strength to begin expressing "astonishment" at the extent of the criminal trade in drugs and white slavery in Kosovo and Metohija, asking how it is possible that the "international community" is planning to recognize the independence

of the Serbian province. A portion of the media is rightly pointing out that the battle against combined terrorist and criminal groups would be much harder in a future “independent” country, “where the authorities are an integral part of the criminal enterprise” (Lyons, James, 2006).

#### THE OUTLOOK FOR COOPERATION BETWEEN MEMBERS OF RECOLONIZED “CIVILIZATIONS”

The thesis about the clash of civilizations, in line with the ancient imperial adage of *divide et impera*, seeks to turn the victims of recolonization against each other, competing over who shall better serve NATO as the infantry of transnational capital for the subjugation of neighbors, in the war for “democracy” and against “terrorism.” The ideologues of transnational capital in fact classify as “terrorism” all resistance to recolonization, passing over in silence the fact that the recolonizational powers’ state apparatuses themselves finance local terrorist groups in order to weaken regimes that offer resistance to recolonization. Testimony that this is not just this author’s construction is provided by a *Wall Street Journal* article by historian Paul Johnson, in which he openly promotes “colonialism” as the answer to “terrorism” in newly “mandated” territories and “protectorates” such as Afghanistan, Iraq, Sudan, Libya, Iran and Syria (Johnson, Paul, 2001). Thus, as early as 2001, the ideological representatives of transnational capital implicitly announced which states were going to be recolonized by the “great civilizational powers.”

An uncritical acceptance of the thesis about the clash of civilizations and the striving, by way of NATO membership, to become part of the “winning team” in the role of cannon fodder for the preparation and perpetuation of the dominance of transnational capital – all in the wake of terrorist bombings with radioactive projectiles under the guise of battle either for human rights and democracy or against terrorism, makes it harder for the victims of recolonization to unite against the common exploiters.

Is there hope for cooperation between members of ethnic and religious groups formerly or still engaged in armed conflict? Hieromonk German, abbot of the Holy Archangels monastery, which was burned down by its Shiptar neighbors in June 1999, under the eyes of German KFOR troops, stresses that, as a Christian, he has a commandment that says: Love thy enemies, and that he strives to love them as people, condemning their evil deeds and hoping that the Lord will have mercy on them. He hopes that the

Serbs will return, just like they did after the first migration under Čarnojević, when only 16 Serbian houses were left in Prizren. That requires hope, love and the desire to end the terrorist and extremist evil in Kosovo and Metohija. Commander Hintelman openly told the abbot that return to the monastery is a “political question,” adding that he would be physically prevented if he tried doing it on his own, leaving room for the interpretation that the failure to prevent the burning of Serbian houses and cultural goods was also a political decision (*Glas juga*, no. 34).

No matter how utopian the promotion of cooperation and good-neighborly relations between members of various ethnic and religious groups in the aftermath of mutual killing may seem, renouncing this realistic utopia in fact promotes the interests of the powers now recolonizing the Balkans and the world. The thesis about the clash of civilizations promotes the mutual killing of the victims and deepens the negative circle of hate and revenge, drawing the victims’ attention away from the fact that the powers of recolonization are continuing to disinherit them all.

The use of genocidal radioactive and toxic materials in the process of forced recolonization makes the uniting of the victims of recolonization and exploitation in the cause of reclaiming control over the common natural and socially created heritage of humanity the *sine qua non* of survival.

Translation: Aleksandar Pavić

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